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FAREWELL DINNER TO SIR CHARLES  
INNES ON 24<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 1927.

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Egyptians: Melancholy. Privilege.

1. Government.

2. Myself.

1. Although able successor, diminution  
strength; 1919 mad 1920 sane. *Adminis-*  
*trator*: advising colleague. Technical  
business...Department. Railway affairs.

Protection. Sane paths, Most suspicious—  
(love with young lady).

*Parliamentarian.* Steel Bill.

Uneconomic consumption lead;  
economic production steel.

2. Myself. Wise Vice-President: counsel, judgment.

3. My impressions before I knew him. Imperial Conference. Church Bill: (Rainy). Complex: Transference of mistrust. Hard: dour: red: sandy: facts: figures. (? relaxation). No very attractive portrait: Type Scots. Charles I.

4. Dreams: streak of truth, distorted:

(a) So far from slave of figures, easy mastery.

(b) Escaping worst qualities of race, retaining by wise selection best. Prudence: Perspicacity: Perseverance.

(c) If reason powerful partner, nicely mixed with quality builds bridges. Tariff Board: Bishops: murder: suicide.

5. Such is C. A. I. Lobb.

6. What I wd. have been, mystery: what he is, those who know better, know best: (Hailey).


*As Commerce Member.*—Confidence of those proverbially slow to trust anybody but themselves.

*As figure in Assembly.*—Innes as a man unfeignedly trusted by most if not all of those who have felt bound most vigorously and articulately to give vent to their feelings of mistrust for Innes the official; cards on Table: straight bat.

7. Not always serious. Tennis. Quadrilles. Rumour. Home Member. Garden chairs.

8. In this, helped by Lady Innes. Typical. They have shown regard for India. Son. Wish well.

Of them: served India so richly, India will take farewell, feeling the poorer for their departure. Thoughts and affection of many friends will follow them: life, whether in India or elsewhere, good gifts enjoy together.



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FAREWELL DINNER TO THE HON'BLE  
SIR ALEXANDER MUDDIMAN ON 8TH  
JULY 1927.

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1. Regrets :

Always :

This occasion, tempered by fact that  
A. P. M. not approaching administrative  
death : *U. P.*, but entering state of temporary  
catalepsy.

None the less, the end of a chapter :  
for him : for his colleagues : for myself :

Pleasure that India will have benefit of  
five more years, tinged by less happy  
recollections that he will be known no more  
in the scenes, where has played so distinc-  
tive part.

2. May people—who can't pay their

debts—seek tranquillity of conscience by trying to close their mind to their existence.

The reason of this gathering is that Government of India—though it cannot wholly pay—acknowledges its debts to those who have served it well.

My experience short: but no one can have served better.

3. After long administrative career, Judicial? Judge of High Court, Home Member, President, Council of State.

In first capacity, kept his hand lightly but securely on all wide range of administrative policy throughout India, which may at any moment get H. M's., Viceroy, Governments into serious trouble. Thus my predecessor and I have leant much on his indulgence and counsel.

And so that, in spite of any tendency to instinctive mistrust of the people at the centre by those on the circumference, he has won his position as true guide, philosopher and friend.

In his new position he will I know carry the conviction that his successor, &c.

As Leader of Assembly, new rôle—for which circumstances of life had had no occasion to make addition to equipment with which generous Providence had endowed him.

Though Viceroys may not attend Assemblies—when these are really engaged in serious work—both rumour and results leave no doubt as to position he has won there for himself.



Many awkward corners: Ratio Bill: Blackett would be first to agree that he derived assistance from Leadership of A. P. M. Imperturbable, good-tempered, shepherding his flock, nicely and skilfully adjusting his persuasive arguments to individual idiosyncrasies, &c.

*Task difficult.*

1. Government, much more responsive and responsible to criticism than might be thought by some to be the case, is yet more in position of counting on assured majority.

If this has disadvantages, which are embarrassing, possible that carries certain advantages also in its train.

Majorities must practice toleration.

Minorities.....patience.

A. P. M. as Leader of Government in Assembly when Govt. found itself alternately in both positions, exceptionally well placed for the acquisition of the virtues, appropriate to each.

2. But Govt. of India necessarily labours under another difficulty: in that a great, and ultimately a controlling, share in the formulation of its policy is vested in another Government thousands of miles away.

“British rulers of India with a supreme Parliament at home are like men bound to make their watches keep time in two longitudes at once.”

Government of India therefore apt to find itself in position of gentleman seeking to keep on friendly terms with two ladies at once—whose temper, and dispositions, are not always easily compatible.

“How happy could I be with either, were t’other dear Charmer away.”

*Secret of Success.*

1. Different methods of getting on terms with popular assemblies.

(i) A. J. B.

(ii) Lord Morley: more relevant for our present purpose.

“Success depends on three things: who says it, what he says and how he says it” and, of these, what he says is the least important.

Not intended to depreciate the worth of the content of Sir A.’s speeches, but rather to emphasise the extent to which the popular body he has led has recognised and respected the personal qualities of its leader.

Shrewd, straightforward, well-informed, all the cards on the table; considerate, tact and all accompanied by a certain vein of entirely good-tempered humour, that makes all the world akin and enables him blunt the edge of sharpest attacks.

2. Value he has derived from faculty of enjoyment of lighter side of life;

relaxation from responsibilities, protecting him from danger of falling into error of thinking that problems of Government and administration are things that principally or universally interest mankind.

3. The more creditable to have carried this burden: public life: social, without assistance of a wife—that to most of us seems an essential aid.

Speak under a certain threat of danger.

Most men have hobbies.

A. P. Ms. to collect from Viceroy's speeches the things they would sooner have expressed differently or not have expressed at all.

If avoided so far, presumptuous tempt fate further. Tho' his mantle temporarily divided falls on to two pairs of shoulders, exceptionally well fitted to sustain. His going will leave a large hole in our legislature, administrative and social order, but we are glad to think that tho' he goes to new duties in a new sphere, his congenial qualities will accompany him and I am sure ensure him same successes.

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DINNER AT SIND CLUB, KARACHI, ON 11<sup>TH</sup>  
NOVEMBER 1927.

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HISTORY OF SIND CLUB.

*Traditions of Viceroy.*

1. Pleasure, &c.—

Reputation of Club.

(i) Hospitality—R.

(ii) Solvent of difficulties—Hub of  
Karachi life—Lubricant.

(iii) Speak freely—official duties.

People and Press.

2. Never speak on subject audience knows  
more about.

*Commerce.*

3. But neither can neglect other—Bad  
administration, no commerce—good com-  
merce, *more money* for administration,

therefore Government should try create favourable conditions for commerce.

Commerce.....for good Government.

Europeans and political work.

Statutory Commission.

4. Connection of Commerce and Government in—

(1) *Origin of each.*

(2) *Secret of continuance of each—*

Good name—title to trust.

5. *Commerce has one advantage—*

(Public opinion) Theology—politics—

British administration always criticised.

British Government=most Christian  
other cheek.

Prerogative of authority to vent its  
official feelings on subordinates.

Prerogative of subordinates to grouse

District officers v. }  
Government of India }

(1) Politicians not wholly or always  
representative.

(2) British in demand District off:  
two miles, effect in Sind.

(3) Solid work—Sukkur.

In my time Harrison { G. Lloyd.  
Wilson, Hudson.

No need to be unduly pessimistic.

Commerce ups and downs.

Palmerston—"Art of Government one  
d—hole after another".

Sind Club evening best corrective.





SIR BASIL BLACKETT, DATED 16TH  
MARCH 1928.

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1. No more ungrateful duty, recurring obligation of celebrating the official decease of Member of Council.

Apart from personal feelings about parting with a colleague, the proceeding by which a Governor-General sees his Cabinet disappear one by one before his eyes, by no agency of resignation or dismissal, but quite automatically and irrevocably, as snow melts before sun offends my sense of const. propriety. But, with all respect to F. E., we are though wise in this matter sadly the slaves of dates.

## 2. Blackett—Finance Member :

Leader of the Assembly.

3. Many here perhaps who with me might feel difficulty in following technical appraisement of B's stewardship—but we can all understand two things :

(1) Difference between a deficit and surplus. And B. has turned deficit into surplus.

(2) Fact that he has been able to do this while simultaneously remitting Provincial contributions.

A Governor here to celebrate and acknowledge his generosity.

Generally recognised that he has restored India's credit—finance of India securely based.

4. Misleading to think of Finance Member as we think of British Chancellor of Exchequer. There are of course outward similarities, both are responsible for national monies and both are trained to simulate their hearts of steel beneath features that breathe a message of hope and goodwill. But there likeness ends.

British Chancellor of Exchequer not chosen because he knows the deep mysteries of finance: Treasury would rebel if he did. But rather because he has become, or may with due encouragement become, valuable member of the Party.

Indian Finance Member, combining duties of Ministers with those of Governors of Bank of England, is bound to know a great deal about those secrets of finance

which to most people, thanks to the jargon with which the high priests of this subject envelop and surround it, are inaccessible.

And Blackett certainly did: with the result to which I have already referred.

5. As Leader of Assembly, he struck stormy time—through no fault of his own. And Govt. has been reminded more than once, on matters of importance, that it does not enjoy the support of a firm majority. In fact, as Mitra explained to his colleagues in Govt., in historic phrase, “The trouble is, Your Excellency, that many of our supporters show very little or no desire to support us”.

Against such difficulties, arising almost entirely from extraneous circumstances, no leadership can succeed in avoiding periodic

misadventure; and I am afraid we have been compelled to watch in exact operation during the last few months the dictum of so astute a Parliamentarian as Lord Palmerston upon the art of Govt., which consisted, so he said, "in getting out of one damned hole after another".

The Reserve Bank Bill deserved a better fate.

Everybody loved it; but even the friends of Cæsar were not more successful in dissembling their affection.

In all this business, Backett a better Swarajist than most members of the Congress Party: and, if we may believe half we read, it was a moving spectacle that the Finance Member presented at a critical period, extending the right hand

of fellowship and friendship to his Swarajist fellow members, while with his left he retained constitutional contact with the S. of S.

Mutter: "How happy could I be with either".

6. These however matters of conjecture only. What is certain is that very few, even of his most keen political opponents, would deny that the outgoing Finance Member has left on India an enduring stamp of benefits conferred, and recognise with his immediate colleagues that India owes her best thanks to him.

His own wide sympathies, reinforced by quick judgment, and vigorous intellect of Lady Blackett, have enabled him to take a

very definite place in Indian society, where their going will inevitably create a void.

7. What is he going to do now?

Rumour speaks of possibility of his contesting seat in British Parliament. If so, he will think little of the missiles with which he may be received after weightier missiles of which he has been the target. Whatever be his future, wish him the best of luck.

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BISHOP COTTON SCHOOL, SIMLA, SEPTEMBER 1927 OR 1928.

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*Viceroy and Assistant Masters.*

Pleasure—almost traditional association between Viceroy and the School.

Particular reason—the last year has been noteworthy :—

(a) for what the School has done as Mr. Peacey has told us;

(b) for what Mr. Peacey himself has done—as no doubt the School shows.

2. Last year, Sir Malcolm Hailey found reason to mention unsatisfactory condition into which affairs of School had been allowed to fall in last 20 years.

School responsible for moral and material progress of European Community ?

*Head Master.*

So scant a measure of success in Secondary and University Examinations.

Expressed disappointment and uttered a warning.

3. Glad to hear Sir Malcolm Hailey's speech already borne fruit.

*Classics. Donkey, &c., Dr. Johnson.*

Examination results distinctly improved.

Particularly pleased to hear that two boys have passed into Roorkee Engineering College this year, for, in this field, prospects of Government employment as Engineers are good.

This reflects well on science teaching in the School.

*Peacey.*

More and more attention being given in English Schools to practical and scientific training.

Age of mechanisation and industrialism.

In view of prospects of majority of boys educated here, important that they should make most of this form of education, which will give them a *vocational chance* later on.

4. At such functions, dominant feeling is recollection of my own intense dislike at school for examination, whose occurrence seemed as frequent as it was unwelcome.

Reaped no reward	{	French.
		Chess.

Suppose I should have minded less, if I had realised them as clearly as now

that examinations are not the whole story.

School not only a place where we hope to learn: but a place where, apart from what we learn to know, we may learn to work.

Thus, however good a thing it is to work hard and win the prize at examination, it is not less good, and may be better, to work hard when we know we have little chance of prizes.

And one of the best things any School can teach us is *how to work and how to learn*; and that when we leave School, though we may finish with examinations, we shall never do any good *unless we can continue to learn*.

For the good school introduces us to life; and, whatever your job, you will find that the same rules which help a boy to give to it the best at school, will enable him both to give and get the best in life.

Same boy whom you respect at school, will be respected afterwards.

*Secret of happiness.*

1. Work hard: no enjoyment without it.

Genius—infinite capacity for taking pains.

Thorough—man people can trust to see a job through.

2. Play hard. Now at games: keep your mind open to many interests:

Reading: Painting: Sport: Handicraft,

and keep your eyes open,—

{	Birds.
	Flowers.
	Nature, &c.

### 3. *Run Straight.*

Life is a tussle between right and wrong. One side or the other.

Keep, before all things, your *own self-respect*.

Value the good opinion of others, but value more your own self-respect: and seek never to do anything inconsistent with it. For if you lose that, you will find you have lost everything that makes life worth living.

“Whatever things &c.....”

Therefore work hard: Play hard: Run Straight. Enable you to bring honour to School and take your part, whatever it is, in the wider school of life.

Good wishes and holiday.

ORIENT CLUB, BOMBAY, JANUARY 1930.

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I. Pleasure. Sir P. Thakurdas (Chairman).

Representative party; well known.

V { Before you knew him.  
    { When you were on point of  
    { knowing him no more.

Social: Commercial; Industrial. Housing  
(Town and Presidency depend).

(X) Shipbuilding luncheon. Boy. (Who  
pays for luncheon?)

Orient Club. Partnership.

Society. Commerce. Politics.

II. Statement.



Take it "as read". Partnership uppermost.

Many things said—of unequal wisdom in more than one continent.

Conflict of tongues.

*Europeans in India.*

(a) Extremists cancel.

(b) Wiser people understand.

Any misunderstanding due to confusion of *Purpose* with *Method*.

III. Purpose—

Responsible Government.

Assumed was indistinguishable from D. S

(i) Restricted R. G.

incompatible with Instructions.

(ii) Full R. G. implied the surmounting of all difficulties of D. S.

(iii) If you were not prepared to say that D. S. was your purpose, it was saying that *perpetual subordination, &c.*

Therefore unmoved. Difficulties:

D. S. undefined.

Transitional Period. D. S. implication.

IV. So much for *Purpose* ? Method.

Ultimate responsibility on H. M. G.:  
Parliament: neither can prejudge.

Therefore here, no new policy.

but, new policy calling to Council  
Table. (Conference vital part.)

V. H. M. G.'s proposals

acid test.

Constructive or Destructive.

*Music Hall.*

*Conversation with Gandhi.*

VI. Lahore.

Socialism. Investors

Land

Industry.

*Boycott.*

(i) never any good.

Reception of Policy the strongest  
vindication.

Walk outs—ins.

Influence to others.

*Game—bus bureaucracy.*

X “Turn their backs upon the people...”

(ii) Democracy. Burke. Pledges.

M. Ps. Electorate.

*Independence and Civil Disobedience.*

(i) Factors of unity: history.

Reckless to throw away.

(ii) *Civil Disobedience.*

Sinister. Non-violent. Explosive forces.

Controlled or confined by formula.

*cf.* mountaineer.

*Conciliation.* But Law and Order will be maintained. First duty of Government and no compromise.

Anyone who has recollection or prevision would rightly blame any Government which, when such situation seemed to threaten, defaulted on plain responsibility.

VII. Such policy destructive—will be rejected.

Mother and son—

“Do you know our John”.

Compensation. Saner elements.

Constructive. Duty: opportunity:

Hand in game—play to same goal.

Real difficulties—

(a) Some men magnify into excuse  
for doing nothing.

(b) Some ignore: ostrich.

(c) Some face and surmount.

The last are wisest:

only people who do any good.

Organisation and effort *here*.

V. disruptive creed.

Courage: determination: time: ~~money~~, &c.

*Take agreements, not differences, to London.*

Maximum weight.

Those who do this work will stand in  
history as those who in a crisis of  
India's fortunes

Served India *well*.



I. C. S. DINNER, LUCKNOW, FEBRUARY  
1930.

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1. Thanks and pleasure: even if qualified by speech. Flattered at being admitted to brotherhood. Service tradition *esprit de corps*, and great value attaching to such gatherings, keeping those bonds of union personal and real.

2. Have seen a good deal of all the services.

I. C. S., Provincial, Agricultural, Irrigation, Forestry.

Had frequent opportunity of saying how great had been their achievement.

3. From time I first entered official life in England, great respect for British



Civil Service—and no praise too high.

Home Civil Service, and Services here working under Ministers, have in some obvious respects—but with important differences—the same difficulties.

Some Ministers are wise.

” ” are foolish.

All Ministers are ignorant.

*Duty of Permanent Services.*

Protect from natural propensity to err.

Employ expert knowledge to extricate them from effects of their own electoral exuberance.

And not only to do this, but to do it in the spirit of all true art, concealing the art by which thing is done.

A. J. B. on modern dancing.

Civil servant might define his work,  
as the business of administration encumbered  
by a Minister.

4. But, if superficial similarities, fundamental differences.

(i) Civil Service at home has one job  
and sticks to it. Not alternating  
between Secretariat and district  
administration.

I. C. S.: Magistrate. Commissioner of  
Police. Borough Surveyor. Income-  
Tax Collector. Excise and Sanitary.

Jack of all Trades. Master of many.

Through plenty and want, rough roads  
and highways, administration flows  
smoothly on.

## Indian Civil Service Rolls-Royce of Administration.

(ii) Civil Service at home never in controversy. And politician who attacked it speedily finds that by doing so he is held to betray more fundamental disregard of canons of political morality than by any of the ordinary breaches of 10 Commandments—if the department is popular, C. S. gets little credit—but if unpopular, no blame.

Here I. C. S.

Constant target

every evil: baneful influence.

(iii) Circumstances have forced the I. C. S. into politics.

Tribute how well they do.

5. The future. After Reforms—"India no career for Britisher"—not original.

Walter Lawrence 50 years ago.

"You'll find it difficult to get any work. It's India for the Indians these days".

Golden age. Always apt to be the age we have just missed—Elusive as man's shadow.

Overtake—recapture.

6. Things are of course changing. 1930 is not 1880. 1950 will not be 1930.

But Services don't seem to be in the defeatist mood of Cheltenham or Bath.

(Gwynne—Lucknow.)

Bound to be opportunity for the best type of Britishers to influence, &c.

"All very well for you to talk—5 years",  
I. C. S. and Lord Curzon.

"Only difference I can see between Your Excellency and myself is that I am a member of the permanent Civil Service and Your Excellency is not"—

But firm conviction is that there is any amount of work to be done.

Great future and no means for men of British race to make their influence felt is near contradiction in terms.

But *influence*—not authority.

7. Wider question. Montagu.

Admit democracy, as seen in election, a curious idea, M. C. C., &c.

Admit particular difficulties in India.

Still,—Convinced that impossible to go back on Montagu,—without much fuller trial than it had been yet possible.

And that in any case, assuming your main problem and purpose be to bring India to self-Government, it is useless and worse than useless to suppose that you solve the problem by exchanging Montagu for Mussolini.

2 years.

20 years further back.

Solution does not assuredly lie in any such *short* cut as that.

Persisting in policy: recognising that the day-to-day administration will make great demands on the discretion of us all,

but remembering always that we must work together as a team, and above all keeping intact our faith in the outcome of the work at which we are set to labour.

It is because I believe the function of the Services to be of so unique a value that I have been glad  
and health.

FAREWELL DINNER TO SIR MUHAMMAD  
HABIBULLAH ON 23<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 1930.

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OFFICIAL RELATIONS AND FRIENDSHIP,  
WISE COUNSEL, &c.

*Range of Dept.*            "Atlas"

How is it done?

*Industry and Method*  
*and more valuable qualities.*      *Quote.*

(Knowledge of men : tact : persuasion)

Not surprising H. left his mark.

Agriculture : Forestry.

Council of State...	politicians	} Persuasion
South Africa	... Hertzog	
Geneva	... 1st Indian	

London            ... Passfield

Indians overseas

Not a man about whom to make jokes.

{ Turban	Home Industries
{ Cigar	(Cuba)

Colleague            ... Chaprassi

Cloud of Smoke

Pillar of fire

*God of Rain*

Leaves Govt. of India  
*High & Dry.*




*Clear the Line.*

One to whom India owes much.

Plenty of work in these days.

H. will find opportunities of serving India.

Health to do it.



FAREWELL DINNER TO THE HON'BLE SIR  
BHUPENDRA NATH MITRA ON THE 22ND  
APRIL 1930.

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Contrast between British Cabinet and  
G.-G.'s Council.

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The first—until they voluntarily part  
company remain united.

The second—severe time-limit—so that,  
throughout his term, the head of an Indian  
Cabinet is confronted by departure one after  
another of colleagues.

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Sir B. N. Mitra's career is in itself  
explanation of why all his friends are glad  
to gather to do him honour.

Beginning from humble post in Secretariat,

raised himself by own efforts from one responsible post to another, until reached highest office open to him.

In two fields, more especially left his mark—

Military finance.

Department, New Capital.

Name will be associated.

As regards the first, Rawly's right-hand man, reorganising military finance after war. Then and since, best friend Army in India had.

Bennett and McLeod (Joe).

As regards the second, Lady Irwin and self owe him much and constant help.

In addition to these, he has handled large and responsible Department (Labour) and taken his full share as Member of

boat's crew in stormy waters of Assembly. Assembly will always cherish warm regard—many friends, no enemies.

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Qualities that have achieved result—

Independence and thoroughness in  
forming judgment.

Persistence in adhering.

Courage in proclaiming, *e. g.*, Calcutta  
Club.

Joined with inherent shrewd common-sense, and coloured by whimsical outlook on men and things.

As regards his own Department, I cannot pierce secret of what he may have said to subordinates inside his own room, but I do know that no tiger could fight more keenly for them against attacks of audit—or finance—or unofficial critics.

These qualities have enabled him to hold his own with—

Colleagues.

Standing Finance Committees, of which

I am told his management left nothing to be desired.

Business men—in pursuit of large development schemes that Sir B. N. thought calculated to develop their own bank accounts more quickly than revenues of India.

Presidents of Assembly and Secretaries of State.

So far as I know only caught napping once.

Taxi-driver in London.

Looked up his record—1909—1930, 4-5 months leave.

Mistake to suppose interest confined to administration and files.

*Football*—Durand Cup. Mohan Bagan.  
(Light in eye).

*Bridge*—Squeezes extra tricks in way which suggests he has forgotten more than Mr. Beamish ever knew.

*Theatre*—resisting his natural impulse to stand up after dinner.

No one ever exactly knew what he thought.

"That may be so". "That is so".

*Music*—Bengali Nationalist songs to accompaniment of guitar which would have cast Lord Reading into despondency and gloom.

Not surprising that we are reluctant to wish good-bye to one who touched life at so many points.

Not taking off harness—Banking Enquiry.

Perhaps popular leader in the Indian Legislature of the future.

If so, dare predict more level-headed than most.

However this may be, I hope opportunity will not be lacking for him to continue to place his gifts at disposal of his country.

In taking leave, bid farewell to one who—

by sterling personality,

a devoted public servant

and trusted friend

has gained respect and affection of all with whom he has come in contact.

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SPEECH AT THE FAREWELL DINNER AT  
THE UNITED SERVICE CLUB, SIMLA,  
ON THE 20TH SEPTEMBER 1930.

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Your kindness imposes very heavy obligation—

(1) Though I have enjoyed much hospitality, this the first occasion of thanking.

∴, though with misgiving, accept if not welcome the opportunity that your kindness and conventional practice affords to a Viceroy shortly about to demit his office of thanking the Club.

(2) And my first duty is to thank the President for the way.....

In doing so, I remind myself of his predecessor who surely combined in rare degree the qualities of head and heart you rightly demand of those whom you call to fill the office of President, and under whose auspices I have spent so many pleasant evenings in this place. I can think of no shoulders on whom his cloak might more fitly have fallen than on those of Mr. Arthur Ley.

Apart from his reputation as an exponent of profitable golf, bringing in its train free drinks, and the assumption by friends of responsibility for his tailors and hosiers bills, when I first came to India, he was one of that band of Secretaries who wrestled



with the ignorance of a new Viceroy, and who initiated me into the mysteries of the Government of India. Since then he has occupied responsible post of Member of P. S. C., in which capacity he stands as the guarantee to humblest mortals for the security and purity in administration of the Civilian Services.

To many of us, he is known as the genial Grand Master of the Black Hearts, to whom we owe many of our happiest recollections of Simla. And of all Black Hearts, devoted to celibacy, his is perhaps the blackest. I suppose that more than any of his companions he has pursued the spirit of the advice given by a mediæval Saint on the subject of women: "Friendly with all, familiar with none".

In his capacity as postprandial orator, it would be unreasonable to expect same standard of veracity as we demand from him in his official and *quasi*-official character; and I regret that he should so far have departed from the path of truth.

*Lady Irwin*: someone to grumble at. "I never heard such nonsense. You must be mad".

I can only accept: and thank him and you for the generosity of your judgment. I can truthfully say that I have tried never to let the servants of Government down. At the same time I am only too conscious of the many mistakes. But the mistakes with which the world credits you are not usually those which lie most heavy on the conscience and no one except oneself knows how many more

one might have made. Common honesty therefore impels me to make plain that to this question—as to most others—there are at least two sides—

Two letters—

“The biggest fool.....Stupidities” “I watch you acting on the silly ideas with which your mind is filled. You are only suited.....Unfit state”. But whatever may be the value, good or ill, of what I have tried to do during the last  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years, I am quite willing to leave it to be judged at the hands of those with whom I have been associated in the great work of Indian administration.

As I reflect upon that association, two thoughts are uppermost in my mind—

(1) the incalculable debt that I owe to those who have been my colleagues and comrades through difficult days, and

(2) what does the future hold in store for those services to which India owes so much and with which she can very ill-afford to dispense?

As to the first, I had worked with Civil Services before I came to India: I had heard of the reputation enjoyed by Civilian Services in India. But I can truthfully say that it is better to see than to hear: and, whatever may have been the work of these Services in the past, I do not believe that at any time its quality can have been more severely tested than during the last few years and months. I have opportunities here and Delhi to express gratitude to Members, Secretaries, higher officials. Glad of chance of thanking rank and file.

They have been difficult times: started by one of whom as of a great evangelical of the XVIII century it might be said "He was constantly known to bewail the fact that he was sinful but seldom to admit that he was wrong", the present movement has imposed a severe strain upon all parts of the machinery of Government, military and civilian alike. The troops and Air Force on the North-West Frontier have had a long trying time; active service without any of the glamour of war and in the case of ground troops without the chance of getting to grips with those who had broken the peace. But even if the Army and the Royal Air Force have sometimes differed upon matter of how many Afridis were beleaguering Peshawar or even upon questions more profound, it is impossible to speak too highly of the courage, and spirit of team work, which has inspired all those servants of Government throughout exacting months. I know very well how much of all this we owe in the case of the Army to the Commander-in-Chief, whose influence with all ranks has been quite invaluable: and in the case of the Royal Air Force to the personality of Sir G. Salmond.

And I am very glad that, during my tenure, by means of the money which General Deverell was mainly instrumental in producing from everybody's pocket, without their knowing it was going, Army re-equipment R. A. F. } well advanced.  
expansion and reconditioning }

Nor can I adequately say how much Government owes to the Civilian Services; political officers on the Frontier, civilians at headquarters of Government here and in the Provinces; civilians in isolated districts having to take quick decisions, and knowing that if they are taken wrong they will have very awkward consequences on the whole administration; and everywhere and always the Police, who have been the special target of vilification and I grieve to say repeated murderous attack.

If we can say, as I believe we can, that we have passed the peak of the general civil disobedience movement, it is due to no other cause than this, *i. e.*, the steady, unflinching devotion to duty on the part of all these officers and services and the wisdom, gallantry and restraint with which that duty has been carried out. It is therefore in discharge of no conventional obligation, but from a very full heart, that I express through their representatives my great gratitude for what they have done and are doing.

*And what of the future?*

I do not here discuss Army and Air: or the great medical service which plays such an important part in their organisation. For an opinion which the former President of the Assembly expressed to me that with an Indian Sandhurst India could in five years turn out all the Generals and Air-Marshals, and I have no doubt he would have added all the doctors, that she required, is I find not generally accepted.

I speak rather now of the Civilian Services.

Things have changed and are changing very fast. Faster than we always appreciate. An Indian Civilian nowadays besides being a good administrator has also to be prepared to ride over the rough country of Parliamentary debate. The District Officer finds that, where ten years ago everybody with a grievance came to him, they are now apt to go to someone who will put tiresome questions in a Legislative Council. The work of political officers with Indian States is not becoming any easier as the principles of Trade Unionism permeate the Princely Class. And I am conscious that what I now say is easier said by one who after five years returns to the ranks of spectator than by one whose career lies or is about to lie in India, or by one who reviews a long career in India after he has passed into retirement. A Viceroy after all is hardly more than an annual among the hardy perennials of the Simla hills.

But though conditions are altering and will alter, politically, socially, and in countless ways, I believe that there still is, and for a long time will be, a job for the members of the Services to do in India and that India cannot get done in any other way.

I therefore feel no doubt that a great mistake would be made by those who wish the best to India if every effort was

not made to retain for India the help that those Services, with their character and traditions, have it in their power to render; and that from this point of view we ought to remember the truth of the apparent paradox that, the easier you make it for members of the services to retire, the more willing they will probably be to stay. And I also believe that, provided those who I hope will continue to come to India can recognise and in practice act upon the distinction between influence and power, there are enough elements in Indian public life that will gratefully accept their service to allow them still the opportunity of making a career, which when they come to the end of it they will not regret. If I did not believe that, I should join the ranks of those who already proclaim India to be a lost Dominion. I was delighted a year or two ago when a friend of mine, after a tour in one of the Provinces, when he had visited the headquarters of the Province, which for sake of easy reference we will call Timbuctoo, told me on his return that he had asked the Collector whether he was anxious as to what Sir John Simon might recommend. The reply he obtained was, "I don't care a damn what Sir John Simon recommends, I know I shall go on governing Timbuctoo"—That seems to me exactly right, and I think that in these matters we need to correct our perspective by remembering that character will always tell, and above all by remembering that for countries as for persons most developments come much more gradually than people frequently expect.

Sir Walter Lawrence arriving as newly joined civilian in Lahore to join the Service just over 50 years ago tells how he got into conversation in a hotel with some older residents who did not know who he was: "You'll find it difficult to get any work; it's all India for the Indians these days".

I often ask myself what will be the verdict of history upon what the British race has tried to do in India. Will it be that all the early work—establishment of peaceful conditions, securing of rudimentary justice, commercial and irrigation development, social influence—that all this was good—but that when we got on to the political side of democratic ideas, drawn on the pattern of the West, that then we began to miss the path and flounder?

\* Perhaps; but if the mistake was made, I venture to assert it was made many years before Mr. Montagu.

If you live with someone who has influenza, or a stammer, the odds are you will catch it from them. And I suspect that all the contacts of education and culture which we deliberately developed through the nineteenth century could have had no other result than to throw Indian political thought and practice on to Western lines. We encouraged Indian students to go to British Universities; we can hardly be surprised that they returned imbued with ideas they found there prevailing. From the English side, it was natural that people nurtured in the ideas of democracy should

have identified these ideas with progress, more generally or more closely than to many would seem suitable to Indian conditions and thought. If we had all been very wise and far-sighted after the mutiny, I suppose we might then have foreseen these developments and prudently insured against them by distributing the new British India into Indian States. But that would have been to ask a great deal in the way of prophetic vision, and in any case it seems to me out of date to suppose that you can now carve up British India in that way. Nor do I believe that in the long run you would serve the interests of India by the substitution of an Indian for a British governing bureaucracy: and finally I do not believe that you can govern permanently without consent, and you certainly cannot trade without it. And therefore any Government if it is to function with any satisfaction to itself or to those it governs must rest upon an adequate measure of goodwill.

So it seems to me our course is set on lines that have been already drawn. No one who is not wilfully blind can fail to descry the stones and holes by which the path is broken. But I retain sufficient faith in the character of my fellow-countrymen to feel that they will not turn back from a task, because it is perhaps the most difficult that has fallen to the lot of any race.

The essential thing as it is the most difficult, whether we are or have been Viceroys, whether we are or about to



become members of the great Services here represented, is to keep if we may clearly before our eyes the objective of our endeavour.

The road may be, and will be, rough; the realisation of our hopes may take a form different from that we had expected; but with all my heart I hold that work done with tenacity of purpose must and will finally achieve results.

May I conclude by a parable of two sentences, which is perhaps not quite irrelevant?

Some years ago a traveller to the French City of Carcassonne enquired of a worker in the fields how far it was to Carcassonne. I sometimes think that the reply given was not very different to that we should give to ourselves when we anxiously strain our eyes across the horizon of India's political progress, towards which we seek to make our way. "How far it is to Carcassonne, we here do not rightly know: but that this road leads there, of that we are sure, because those who follow this road have always told us on their return that at the end of it lies Carcassonne".

In a few weeks time I shall be saying good-bye to Simla and in six months time to India. All Viceroys spend half their time in Simla, and, however much one may rail against the fate that compels one to live for days in cloud, I anticipate that

when one recalls one's Simla time from the pigeon-holes of memory, it will be in the spirit of the sundial—" *Horas non numero nisi serenas*". That will I fancy also be true of one's recollections of India, and, among those recollections, there will be none that I shall value more than acquaintances and friendships made and cemented here with the members of the Services.

I thank you for your hospitality and for all the kindness and help that in countless ways directly and indirectly you and those you represent have given me.

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ST. ANDREW'S DINNER, DELHI, 1st  
DECEMBER 1930.

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Origin a mystery—like much else.

The Land we live in—

? Gratitude of Scots to their adopted  
country

or

subtle form of congratulation to  
country adopted?

In any case, thanks.

St. A. Day—or rather night—English-  
man yields to natural inferiority  
complex *vis-à-vis* Scottish solidarity.

Scotsmen gravitate together.

English and Scots in a bar.

Clannishness.

Virtue.

I don't analyse. A Scot might say it  
was due—

(a) to greater beauty of country—

Sentimental    a b o u t

Western Islands : or

Rannoch Moor.

As a Yorkshireman, I

can't admit :

Wharfedale :    East

Coast.

(b) perhaps individual and distinctive

character    that    country    has

attained by history, geography,

climate, personal qualities of

inhabitants.

(c) also to fact that Scotland is much nearer

romantic period of her history.

Fletcher.    Saw old lady who had kissed

Prince Charlie's hand.

Scotland the last home of family  
feud in Europe.

Dehra Dun boy.

Peshawar and Perth.

Anyhow—whatever their reasons are—no  
doubt good reasons for gathering.

Gratitude at admission  
(and for myself).

Rainy. One of many Scots to whom India  
owes much.

Soldiers : administrators :  
men of commerce.

? Why has not Aberdeen  
supplied more Finance Members.

Still plenty of need for her best, and for  
qualities which have made Scots everywhere  
so vigorous and valuable element.....

Difficulties that face us. Liberal spirit  
required (Scottish Liberalism).

Kidnapped. Advice of old minister of  
village to Davie Balfour starting off  
into world.

Bible: récipé for specific against all  
diseases: shilling piece: and

“Be souple, Davie, in things  
immaterial.”

Quality much needed today.

tho' difficulty is—we are not all  
agreed as to what is and is not  
immaterial.

And if I were to attempt definition, I should  
break my resolution of no politics.

This only—I will say. Scotsman's flair for  
seeing essential : logical and pawky mind.

{ Imprudent idealist  
matrimony :  
Twinberrow ; *terra firma*  
Scot just mean.

---

Next St. Andrew's day

Within reach of Scots.

---

Recall Delhi memories,  
hope enjoy as much.





●

BENGAL CLUB, CALCUTTA, ON 15<sup>TH</sup>  
DECEMBER 1930.

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Hospitality proverbial.—

no one knows better than I.

C. J. { Generous kindness heart.  
severe impartial light of reason.

Pleasure—talk freely.

A confession. No speech.

Approaching end. Think back.

Viceroy's diffidence.

E. Montagu. War sacred by lives.

India.....lives spent.

Administrative

~~Material~~

Winnipeg.

Spiritual.

Missionaries.

Is all this to be imperilled?

Is problem of our making?

Are we tackling it right?

Easily biggest problem.

Came for Commerce. }  
Slipped into Empire. }

Established Contacts.

E. Montagu to blame. Diary.

---

Result probably inevitable.

---

Democratic thought.

Press.

Nationalism.

Race.

Explosive ideas—heady wine.

Articulate minority—Press.

Simple principle.—

Politicians minority and can be  
ignored.

Politicians everything.

Yeast—hard facts.

---

Truth midway.

---

Movement of several strands.

honest aspirations, &c.

unwillingness to face facts.

subversive agitation.

∴ no simple remedy-- }  
                                 Repression }  
                                 or }  
                                 Concession }

Try to temper. Young horse.

Necessity of consent.

∴ double policy.

progressive on constitutional issues,

firm on subversive.

Criticism inevitable.

Bloody stupidities.

My declaration }  
 Sapru—Jayakar }  
 Tirah }

Did Congress want peace?

*G. bewails fact that he is sinful.....*

*.....wrong.*

Go on with double policy.

New setting given by States at R. T. C.

Partnership and Parliamentary purposes  
stand.

In any design of partnership, give and  
take.

Beer story (better: worse).

---

All sides will have to adjust views.

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When I have left India.

Sundial.

—hours of sunshine—

Bengal Club.

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CALCUTTA CLUB, DECEMBER 18TH, 1930.

---

Recall 2 years ago.

---

Value of Calcutta Club—more and more.  
Not least of pleasures here.

---

The last time.

---

Trials of Public men.

---

Viceroy has to make a speech on  
politics—without making a political speech.

---

Hard lot of politicians, *e. g.*, C. J. or  
President, Assembly.

---

If Calcutta Club could enlarge membership  
to include Gandhi and Winston.

*Gun and Post Office.*

---

Some people think  
 Indians betray excess of original sin in  
 desiring to run their own country.

---

*e. g.*, Gokhale.

“Sacrilege to look forward to time  
 when they could govern themselves.”

Other people think facts can be ignored

---

Ferment everywhere.

Nothing odd.

Western education,

Political thought.

---

Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey.

---

Challenges of Authority in all spheres.

Politics

Religion

Custom

Sex

Art. Cubists.

---

Some may regret: All may deplore  
many of the methods.

---

If Providence has given men minds and  
intellects, they must use them—  
every country faces it—

But man who thinks tide.....is  
making Canute's mistake.

---

Problem is to harness tide.

Canal—flood.

---

Real remedy Public opinion ;  
slow to form slower to move.



Two things Public opinion must learn—

(1) Government supports right side of  
National feeling.

(2) Method of destruction, applied to  
law or commerce, strikes at root of  
society and brings its own punish-  
ment.

---

Duty of Viceroy to try and drive Great  
Britain and India in double harness.

---

Last November.

British speakers.

What they might have said.

Will the R. T. C. succeed?

---

I don't know—We all pray.

---

But face the facts.

Soda water.

---

Tragedy that those who love India  
should be fighting one another,

Liberty—religion—War.

---

Free will.

---

Higher synthesis.

---

This Club helps to find.

---

Have made many mistakes—but only  
one motive—good of India.

Privileged for a period to serve.

---

I hope that opportunity of serving her  
will not pass when I see shores of India  
fading into blue distance.

---

Spirit of Club.



BYCULLA CLUB, 16TH APRIL 1931.

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Thank. Old custom by which at end of five year pilgrimage Viceroy is sometimes privileged to reach Byculla Club.

After many farewell appearances and taking unconscionable time in dying when a Viceroy attends this dinner it is by tradition the Viceroy's "positive last".

Opportunity for Chairman to voice feelings that have been suppressed for years past, and for Viceroy to review, with apology or complacence, according to his taste.

E. J. too generous: treated me no less kindly than on other occasions when he has had me at his mercy.

I have no intention of worrying you with anything like formal apologia, but welcome informal talk: no reporters.

II. We meet with minds naturally full of recent experiences, which, whatever may have been our position and whatever may have been our judgment, have surely at least been very stimulating to all men's thought.

Scottish lady describing carriage and pair—steep hill.

"For them that was looking on, it was an awful sight. But for them that was inside, it must have been a richt speeritual experience".

Is what is now happening here, and what British race is trying to do, all wrong?

And could it have been prevented?

III. Broad answer is that, unless we had taken the wholly different road in 1857, we could do nothing else, and nothing in the world could prevent the results we see.

(1) Effects of contact.

{ communications { science would have done it any- how.	Thought is just as catching as disease, and it was quite inevitable that, if you brought India into touch with Western political thought, she would catch it.
---	---

Education.

Students.

All in the interests of cementing the Empire.

(2) Effect of natural process.

The East moving.

Japanese war.

China.

Afghanistan.

Turkey.

Persia.

Desire for self-government better than good government.

IV. Why should India alone escape? It has been a continuous process. High water-mark always higher. Therefore, whatever mistakes we may have made in last 5 years or 1 year, superficial view to attribute present troubles to faults of particular administration.

As superficial and misguided a use of logic as led the young man to blame the soda.

V. But natural enough that people should find scapegoat.

Criticism certain—

sometimes H. M. G.

„ „ bureaucracy here,

„ Governor ;

more often the Viceroy.

Confess this does not greatly disturb my peace of mind.—

(i) Partly because a good deal of the criticism emanates from quarters, whose blame is much less disquieting to one than would be their commendation.

(ii) Conscience is the ultimate tribunal.

(iii) The facts are against the critics.

Read Lady Auckland's letter.

I do not know if I'm as bad as that.

(P. S. suggests source of the lady's inspiration.)

Grateful to her for writing so frankly.

But it belongs to an order of ideas that are passed—

Baldwin said Empire was a dynamic thing.

India a  
Dependency.

This represents possessive  
conception of Empire—

brightest jewel,

markets of teeming millions.

Ignores the fact that this older conception of 30 years ago is now replaced by the conception of partnership.

Already dying under stress of material and spiritual growth of old "colonies", the War finally killed it.

The very language of Imperial politics—

Colonies	...	Dominions
Empire	...	Commonwealth
		of Nations

India again can't be the only part of Empire left out of all this. My declaration of November 1929.

Truth is some people are so busy looking back—no time to look forward.

Lot's wife.

VI. This does not mean that, as we look forward, there is not more than enough to excite great anxiety in the most sanguine or stolid heart, and however much I disagree with Winston Churchill, &c., would be the last to deny that they are entitled to be apprehensive of how all the forces at present in operation here will work out.

But I do believe that they are refusing to face the facts of the present India that I know, and that lurid and provocative language is only making the task of most of us here ten times more difficult.

And I have no doubt that, if any of them had been in my shoes, they would either when brought to see the facts have acted in the main no differently to what we have been doing or have created a situation that would have hopelessly alienated Indian feeling.

For whatever the difficulties may be today—and they are great—of adjusting democracy to the East, of Indians being communal, inefficient,

nepotist, &c., what reason is there to suppose that they will be any less so in 10 or 20 years' time and that meanwhile your political problem will have been remaining stationary?

And therefore the broad fact remains that you must strive your utmost to build your future upon consent—

*i. e.*, Public opinion  
and argument.

Therefore I saw Gandhi and made the settlement.

(Gandhi—*cf.* XVIII Century Evangelical.)

Never shared extravagant opinions about its value.

Always thought we should have rough edges: and that you could not expect things to get quiet at once.

But that the attempt to get G. down to constructive discussion was right I have no doubt.

I know that in some directions the economic liberty to encourage Swadeshi business is being employed in ways that are not easily distinguishable from the political weapon of boycott:

deal with frankly.

*What are the facts?*

Borderline obscure,  
economic movement has gained momentum,  
big money in it.



*How can you deal with it ?*

1. Ordinary law.
2. Get particular methods abandoned.
3. Beyond that, go for Congress.

If you do that—

- (i) invest economic movement  
(open to great economic  
objection) with political  
character.
- (ii) Probably not effective :  
trade not enforceable by  
law.
- (iii) Check the feeling against  
Bombay and Ahmedabad  
exploitation.
- (iv) Defeat your major purpose.

Therefore political agreement, in which  
you reach settlement as part of a  
larger whole.

I don't know whether you will succeed or  
not :

If you fail, C. D. O. again  
but improved moral  
position ;

If you succeed, a new order will be  
created which will involve great  
readjustment of ideas for all  
European element.

As regards trading community, the  
position will be eased if you  
reach political agreement, and  
in the long run I believe that  
British trade has a future here—  
economic :  
water up hill.

Services—

Pensions ;

Security of tenure.

But general position will be altered  
as power passes.

Walter Lawrence.

influence—power.

We are in India because man for man we  
are better men—prove again.

Two things have struck me—

(1) Why was Gandhi able to mobilise  
C. D. O.—

most shrewd observers,  
British and Indian, said he  
couldn't.

Foreign Government.

(2) Jaipur polo match at Calcutta.

Time of transition—bound to be difficult.  
Room for best type of Englishman.

Hard job: for that reason the most  
worth doing.

Testing time of British Empire.  
Austen Chamberlain.  
quote.

Curious feeling to pass completely, and at  
a particular moment of time, completely out  
of an existence in which you have spent all  
your waking thought.

Most things in life come with a certain  
quality of transition.

And the only parallel that suggests  
itself—no experience—is that of a divorce, in  
which persons, so far as civil affair is con-  
cerned, revert from a dual to a single state.

But just as they often cherish feelings for the late partner that survive separation, so with me and India.

As I look back now, and I am sure this will be more so with each year that passes, the good things stand out in sharp relief: and speaking here I cannot tell you what I have owed to the support of my official and non-official fellow-countrymen.

As regards *Services*, any man who had  
Governor. worked with them as I have, would  
feel as I do that no praise was too  
high—

Civilians and Police—

What they have to do.

How they have done it.

Any man would have been proud to have them as colleagues and comrades, and I hope they will believe that I have always done my best not to let them down.

*The non-official European Community—*

Their support means much to any Viceroy: and they have given it to me most generously.

The 105.

We should not be human, or at least not intelligent human beings, if we always saw eye to eye with one another, but I think we have always known that we were both trying to run straight, and have always felt able to talk out our differences frankly together. For all that I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

5 years—respectable slice.

Point of time.

Fullest and most eventful chapter  
of my life.

I know how many mistakes—human effort is impossible without them.

But throughout have felt no efforts too great for the great end of winning understanding between India and Great Britain, because that seemed to be the crux of the problem on which future of human race itself depends, namely, the possibility of building a bridge of fellowship between the white and coloured races of the world.

Creighton's inscription in Peterboro Cathedral

"He tried to write history" No one of us need wish for a happier verdict upon what we may have sought to do in this country than that it might be said of us "He tried to serve India" and that by so doing we were trying to serve something greater than India or Great Britain, or the British Empire of which each is part.



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